

## Message Text

SECRET

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O 290408Z SEP 76 ZFF-6  
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN NEW YORK  
TO AMEMBASSY MAPUTO NIACT IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE  
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTO 28006

NODIS

FOR AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, MZ, SF, RH  
SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT MACHEL FROM THE SECRETARY

1. PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT MACHEL.
2. QUOTE. DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I HAVE READ THE RECENT DECLARATION MADE BY THE FIVE FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS IN LUSAKA AND HAVE NOTED MANY POSITIVE ELEMENTS. AS YOU MAY KNOW, WE ISSUED AN ANNOUNCEMENT FOLLOWING THIS DECLARATION NOTING THAT YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES HAD ACCEPTED THE BASIC FRAMEWORK FOR A NEGOTIATING PROCESS LEADING TO MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA WITHIN TWO YEARS. AT THE SAME TIME I DETECTED A NEGATIVE TONE TO THE DECLARATION WHICH I BELIEVE REFLECTED A LACK OF FULL UNDERSTANDING CONCERNING THE SMITH DECLARATION. I WOULD LIKE TO CLARIFY A NUMBER OF POINTS WITH YOU SO THAT YOU MAY HAVE A CLEARER PICTURE OF WHERE WE NOW STAND.

3. THERE ARE SEVERAL POINTS, IN MY JUDGMENT, THAT ALL OF US MUST KEEP IN MIND AS WE CONSIDER WHAT IAN SMITH SAID. FIRST, SMITH'S REMARKS WERE ADDRESSED TO AN AUDIENCE WHICH COULD ONLY RECEIVE THE NEWS WITH A DEEP SENSE OF SHOCK. HE THEREFORE USED LANGUAGE WE WOULD NOT HAVE RECOMMENDED BUT WHICH HAS TO BE UNDERSTOOD. SECOND, THE

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SALISBURY AUTHORITIES ARE NOW IRREVOCABLY COMMITTED TO

MAJORITY RULE WITHIN A TWO-YEAR PERIOD. THIRD, THEY ARE ALSO COMMITTED TO THE PRINCIPLE OF A BLACK MAJORITY INTERIM GOVERNMENT. FOURTH, THE SIXTH POINT IN SMITH'S ANNOUNCEMENT -- THE ECONOMIC PROGRAM -- IS A MATTER FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE MEMBERS OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONSORTIUM AND NOT A SUBJECT ON WHICH THE FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS NEED TAKE A POSITION. FIFTH, THE SPECIFICITY OF SMITH'S PROPOSALS ARE DUE IN LARGE PART TO OUR PRESSURE. WE FEARED THAT A GENERAL PROPOSAL WOULD ONLY ENCOURAGE HIM TO PROCRASTINATE LATER.

4. WITH RESPECT TO THE SPECIFIC CONCERNS WHICH YOU MAY HAVE WITH THE SMITH ANNOUNCEMENT, I WOULD LIKE TO SHARE WITH YOU MY THOUGHTS.

-- I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT A MEETING TO NEGOTIATE THE FORMATION OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT NEED TAKE PLACE IN SALISBURY OR ANYWHERE ELSE IN RHODESIA. NOR DO I BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE TO HOLD SUCH A MEETING IN LONDON. WE ARE PREPARED TO BACK THE CONVENING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN ANY OTHER PLACE MUTUALLY CONVENIENT TO ALL THE PARTIES INVOLVED.

-- THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY THAT, UNDER THE PROPOSALS, SMITH CAN RUN THE SHOW. INDEED, ONCE THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT IS FORMED, THE PRESENT STRUCTURE IN SALISBURY WOULD DISAPPEAR.

-- IT SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD THAT EACH SIDE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE FREE TO NOMINATE ITS COMMUNITY'S REPRESENTATIVES TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE. EVEN THOUGH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE WOULD BE EUROPEAN, IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO BE SELECTED WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE OTHER MEMBERS. IN SHORT, HIS SELECTION COULD ONLY BE BASED ON A CONSENSUS OF THE MEMBERS AT LARGE.

-- THE UNITED STATES WILL PROMOTE NO INDIVIDUAL OR FACTION ON THE AFRICAN SIDE. THAT RESPONSIBILITY FALLS TO THE RHODESIAN NATIONALISTS AND IN THIS MATTER YOU HAVE AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY.

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5. I BELIEVE THAT THE OTHER QUESTIONS RAISED BY IAN SMITH'S STATEMENT ARE SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATION. THE PROPOSALS WHICH WE ADVANCED TO SMITH ARE A DISTILLATION OF THE CONSULTATIONS WE HAD WITH YOU, THE OTHER FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS AND THE UK. WE HAVE DONE EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO BRING MATTERS THIS FAR. A BREAKDOWN IN THE SETTLEMENT AT THIS POINT COULD ONLY LEAD TO CONTINUED ESCALATING VIOLENCE, SO A DECISION NOT TO ACCEPT THE

OPPORTUNITY NOW OFFERED WOULD BE A SERIOUS ONE. THE  
OPPORTUNITY NOW PRESENTED WILL NOT RETURN. THEREFORE, IT  
IS IMPORTANT THAT WE MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM AND THAT NO  
PRETEXT BE GIVEN TO SMITH TO BACK OFF FROM HIS UNDERTAKING  
TO MAJORITY RULE.

6. IN THE MEANTIME I LOOK FORWARD TO HAVING YOUR VIEWS,  
AS I HAVE SOUGHT THE VIEWS OF PRESIDENT NYERERE, KAUNDA,  
AND KHAMA. WITH WARM REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER.  
UNQUOTE.  
KISSINGER

SECRET

NNN

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